1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

CHAPTER 8

DECISIONS BY PARENTS

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• 855 The popular image of the adopted daughter in Taiwan is not unlike that of the stepchild so familiar to readers of European children's literature of the last century. The adopted daughter is invariably represented in folk songs and folk tales as the most miserable of human creatures, rejected by her parents, mistreated by her foster parents, an object of pity for the kind and scorn for the cruel. The situation of the sīm-pûa has, in fact, become symbolic of the innocent bitter victim of fate. To complain of your lot when you feel there is no recourse one need only say, "What a sīm-pûa am I!", and to convey an impression of a person who is both dejected and resentful it is enough to note that he has "a sīm-pûa face." So vivid is this image in the popular imagination that even small children are only too well aware of what it means to be an adopted daughter. A crying child never mistakes her mother's meaning when she tells her "to stop acting like a sīm-pûa", and even the most recalcitrant child bends to parental will when threatened with the prospect of adoption. As one of the most popular of Taiwanese proverbs has it, "It is better to be a poor man's daughter than a rich man's adopted daughter."

Partially at least, this image of the adopted daughter is a popular stereotype, a representation which earns its way in the language and literature by its metaphorical value. Nonetheless, there is more

than a modicum of truth in the picture, at laast in so far as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned. Regardless of the form of adoption, an adopted daughter must work harder and longer than her foster parents' own female children; she is much less likely to be given an opportunity to attend school regularly; and when there is tension in the family it is the adopted daughter who is most likely to become the scapegoat. As one of our informants expressed it, "No matter what it is, an adopted daughter is always lower." There are, of course, exceptions. If the foster parents have no children of their own they are more likely to treat an adopted daughter much as they might treat a daughter, and occasionally even a girl adopted by a family with children can win her parents' affection. One girl who was adopted in the hope that "she would lead a boy into the family" told us that when her mother did bear a son within the year "she was so happy that she treated me just like a boy." But while such fortunate exceptions do occur, they are rare. We were told by a number of women who had been adopted daughters that the experience had taught them "to be careful" and "to watch other people's faces." While it would be too much to say that the following account is typical of the life of an adopted daughter, similar accounts from other women indicate that it is not exceptional.

> "When I was adopted my foster mother had to take a milk child to make money, and so I could only have the milk that was left over. There naturally wasn't enough and so I had to drink powdered milk and water off the rice. My foster sister tells me that the neighbors used to call her the fourteen year old mother because she was just like my mother. You know that when a baby doesn't get enough to eat it cries all the time. My foster mother would get angry when I cried, and just throw me on the bed. Then my sister

*597 • 855 would run and pick me up and beat some milk to feed me. Everyone says that she was very good to me. She was just like a mother, and she is still very fond of me. When she tells me about those days she still cries about it, and then I cry too. My foster mother was always beating me. It wasn't that she didn't like me; it was just her temper. She would beat me whenever she was angry. Sometimes I would just be sitting there doing my homework, and she would grab me and beat me for no reason at all that I knew of. I had to be very careful. Sometimes I would run away bleeding and still she would chase me and beat me some more. When my sister got married and had a baby I would run home from school right away and carry the child because I knew that I wouldn't be as likely to get beaten with the baby on my back. Because I liked to study so much I got my sister to enroll me in school. Oh, how I got beaten for that! When I needed money for school, I always asked my sister to give it to me, not my mother. I didn't dare ask her. And when I got home from school I always had to work. I can still remember looking out the window at other children playing when I was working. Sometimes when my foster mother left the house I would run out and play. Naturally I would forget how long I was there, and then I would really get punished. Really, my foster mother beat me too often and too hard. I was always shaking with fear. My husband married into our family, and we moved next door, but my mother would still come over there and beat me. Whenever I think of my childhood I wonder why it was that my <u>nia:</u> was so bad."

*597 626 Needless to say, such treatment of adopted daughters is not generally approved. Foster parents who beat their adopted daughters are often criticized for "beating other people's children," and if the treatment of the child is excessively cruel the family's neighbors may [558] interfere on behalf of the child. This happened in Hsiachichou in the case of an elderly woman who made a practice of confining her adopted daughter under a bamboo chicken coop and then walking around and around the coop with a bundle of burning paper. But while public opinion does exist and does to some extent serve to protect adopted daughters, it is really only effective in curbing the worst kinds of abuses. Many

*597 Adopted daughters do, of course, direct some of their resentment
152 toward their foster parents, but the disruptive effects of this upon
155 the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship are more than offset by the positive elements of the relationship. While the daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage soon learns to give as much as she receives, it is the rare sim-pûa who ever expresses any anger towards her foster mother. Rather than becoming quarrelsome and hot tempered as a result of the treatment she receives in her foster home, the adopted daughter learns "to watch other people's faces." She may fear her foster parents, but it is rare to find an adopted daughter who
*597 hates her foster parents. At the beginning of the last chapter we
• 895 quoted at length a village woman who described her foster mother as
152 "always beating me whenever she was angry." This same woman also told us that despite this treatment she was much more attached to her foster mother than to her biological mother. In her own words,

> "You know it was very funny when I was a child. My foster mother was beating me up all the time, but still whenever I heard someone from my natal family coming to take me home for a visit I was scared and ran and hid in the toilet. My older brother and my foster mother and the others would all come and try to pull me out, but I would not come out. At that time it seemed to me that going back to my natal home would be just like cutting off a piece of my flesh. I just don't know why it was. My mother used to say to me, 'Your foster mother is always beating you and I am very nice to you, and yet you still don't want to come home to see us. How is that you can want to stay with your foster mother?' I felt the same way myself, and I just don't know why it was that I didn't want to go home. My foster mother was always beating me up, and yet if I didn't see her for a few hours I would cry and run to look for her. Even when I did go to visit my natal family I wouldn't play with the children who

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīm-puà's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-puà marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-puà who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-puà marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-puà form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depend-
[954] ing upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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*596 *159 • 855 *593 603 We can thus be certain that Lim Hue-lieng was spoiled as a child. All Taiwanese boys are indulged and pampered for their first six or seven years, and first-born sons often enjoy special treatment even longer. Married to the stern, ambitious Lim Han-ci, Hue-lieng's mother probably had neither the time nor the permission to spoil him as much as other mothers might, but grandmothers need ask no permission—even from sons like Lim Han-ci. A man's children belong to his own parents before they belong to him. Parents do not come into full rights over their children until their own parents die. Like every child fortunate enough to be born while his grandparents are still alive, Lim Hue-lieng spent much time in their company. His grandfather probably told him stories, took him to the store for treats, gave him affection openly and without the reservations necessary for maintaining authority; his grandmother protected him from parental discipline, saved food for him from the table, and shared her bed with him. If Lim Han-ci resented this indulgence of his son and thought it unwise, the unfortunate consequences of the situation did not teach him restraint and wisdom with respect to his own grandchildren, whom he spent much of his time spoiling in the last years of his own life.

*596 *159 *593 157 Like all members of the Lim family, Lim Hue-lieng grew up into a strong, willful personality; he had in greater measure than most the family's fierce temper and their independence. As a child he feared his father's punishment; as a youth, he resented it; as a young man, he looked outside his home and found that there he too could be respected, feared, and obeyed. He and his father were soon in conflict over his outside activities. The more his father attempted to restrain him, the more satisfying Lim Hue-lieng found life outside his family. He became a leader among the young men in Peihotien, and before long was recognized as a leader by the young men of the whole Hotien area. His name was being mentioned by people who had never heard of the village of Peihotien. At the age of nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng left the family home and severed his relations with his father.

181 *593 To the Westerner accustomed to adolescent revolt and the approval of independence in young men, this may seem like an entirely reasonable and justifiable action. In the social context of Peihotien in the 1930's, it was an act of extreme moral violence. A Chinese son's first duty is to obey, respect, and support his father. Children exist for the sake of their parents. When a Chinese son dies before his father

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Han-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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159 426 521 made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

159 525 Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is [857] old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their [855] mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

159 581 I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly [142] hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 561 [555] [514] A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uniform is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

262 the highest level in history. Low-priced powdered milk
[855] is available in the village stores but only given to small children. The citrus orchards allow a large consumption of fruits in season, particularly rejects, i.e., bruised and undersized fruit. The appearance and taste may be
[178] poor but nourishment remains the same. Previously, fresh fruits were consumed only on special occasions. The village stores now sell many eggs although eggs too once were only for rare special occasions. Probably the biggest change is in the quantity and variety of fresh vegetables.
[178] The diet is greatly improved and information about vitamins and a balanced diet is filtering into the community.

Food and Diet

146 No villager goes hungry, starvation is non-existent. Even in the large cities, the people appear well fed and beggars are rarely encountered. In Sanlei, the daily calorie intake seemed adequate for healthy life. In spite of the villagers' opinions which were expressed above, it does appear that there is an imbalance in the distribution of needed items. According to the Western-style doctor at the public health station in Hsin Tien, the rural villagers in the Hsin Tien area probably have serious shortages of protein, riboflavin, calcium, and thiamin. As an investigator from America, I was most struck by the lack of milk and milk products plus the comparatively small

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

261 • 855

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 [493] One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

273 area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be
272 consumed without simultaneously eating. The village
273 stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be
264 reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

262 There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in
264 the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special
524 days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

264 On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the
[562] courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears
[855] that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

846
834 resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very
831 funny.

Babies

852 There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

853 Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the
853 children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a
855 child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered
832 while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

362 Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child

• 855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only adminis-
[604] tered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[858] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

863 [854] Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 887 482 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women and children carry children around strapped to their backs

855 857 482 603 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small 593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var- 604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

513 855 [852] The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described, the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor- [854] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a jani-
[363] tor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Pouti or Hsin Tien. Six of the

The
512 vegetable peddler returned by 10:00 a.m., sold out the last
443 of his load, had a nap, and will work in the fields most of the afternoon. Typically, five or six salesmen will come through the village selling cloth, clothes, medicine, brooms, etc., directly to householders or to call on the two village stores. The pig man sells to fu every other day, and when he arrives people gather to make purchases
512 and gossip. The village secretary from Hsin Tien visits
[624] about three times each week and the policeman from Pouti
[625] rarely misses wandering around part of each day.

512 Dinner time varies, later in the hot weather, but
264 usually around 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Dinner is always hot and is the meal most likely to be eaten as a family unit while gathered around a table but since some families are large and many tables are small, the women who cook often eat while standing up in the kitchen and the children, who
[855] started earlier, squat in the doorway. A small child will sit in someone's lap and be helped with food and encouraged to eat. Evening worship is performed in the same manner as
[782] morning worship. On religious holidays it always precedes dinner but on other days it may either be before or after dinner.

[356] After dinner, women will clean the kitchen while men
512 repair tools. Both men and women who work in the fields
461 will plan and discuss the next day's activities for few people enjoy working alone and even when labor is not being

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
• [855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same